Make Room For Peace
– a guide to women’s participation in peace processes
The Kvinna till Kvinna Foundation (Kvinna till Kvinna)

The Kvinna till Kvinna Foundation supports women during times of war and conflict to increase women’s power and influence. We cooperate with more than 100 women’s organisations in conflict and post-conflict settings across the world to support them in their efforts for gender equality, human rights and peace and security. The Kvinna till Kvinna Foundation operates on a regional basis and has partner organisations in the Balkans, the Middle East, South Caucasus, Central and West Africa. The partner organisation’s work includes combating violence, particularly violence against women, and addressing structural violence at institutional level. The Kvinna till Kvinna Foundation also raises awareness among national and international decision-makers of women’s situation in conflicts and on the importance of women’s participation in peace processes. We advocate women’s participation and influence in decision-making processes as a key factor for democracy and peaceful conflict resolution.

Acknowledgments

This manual builds on the analysis of other related publications and lessons learnt from Kvinna till Kvinna’s two decades in the field supporting local women activists in conflict regions. In addition, the recommendations are also based on the excellent advice of experts on peace negotiations, gender and women’s civil society organisations in conflict regions. A particular mention and thanks to Hodan Addou at Unifem/UN Women in Sudan for her invaluable introduction to key contacts, to Lone Jessen at the Mediation Support Unit at the UN Department of Political Affairs in New York, and to Pablo Castillo-Díaz at Unifem/UN Women for insight into Unifem’s work and the ongoing UN processes on these issues.

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More than a decade has passed since the United Nations Security Council’s landmark decision to adopt resolution 1325 on women, peace and security. Women in conflict regions had long been at the forefront of civil society initiatives for peace and reconciliation. For the first time this was acknowledged at the highest political level. However, more than ten years down the line, it is still predominantly male voices that influence agenda-setting and decision-making in peace-building negotiations.

It is time for third parties supporting peace processes to be much more proactive in including women and men on an equal footing in peace processes. Peace negotiations and peace agreements are important starting points as they link the immediate security concerns of different groups in society to long-term peace. Many peace agreements fail within a few years. We need to start looking at what is lacking and what we can do about it.

Sustainable peace requires legislation based on human rights, stable institutions, reconciliation, economic development and an enabling environment for civil society. However, peace agreements and post-war institutional arrangements tend to lack basic provisions about gender equality and gender-related needs.

Kvinna till Kvinna’s long-standing support to women striving for peace and women’s rights in conflict regions is as essential today as it was in 1993 when the organization was started in the midst of reports on mass rapes in Bosnia.

This publication charts the road to stronger participation of women in peace negotiations and peace processes. It should substantially strengthen this work and give these efforts more lasting effects. ♦

JAN ELIASSON
Former President of the United Nations General Assembly and Minister for Foreign Affairs, Sweden.
Women’s inclusive participation in peace negotiations is not only a matter of equal rights but also a matter of making a peace process sustainable. Women’s participation on an equal basis with men is vital at all levels and in all sectors. That said, this manual focuses on the participation of women organization acting for peace in conflict affected regions. Kvinna till Kvinna brings two decades of experience-based knowledge of supporting women’s organisation in conflict regions.

It would appear that civil society women’s work for peace and security is still largely an untapped resource in the political decision-making of peace processes.

Peace agreements are crucial in peace processes because they rubberstamp the framework for post-conflict rebuilding priorities. Anything not included in the initial peace agreement risks not being included in the political priorities for a long time afterwards and not without a great deal of effort from those whose needs and interests may have been overlooked in the peace negotiations.

Women’s participation is one, although not the only, prerequisite for reaching peace agreements that respond to both men’s and women’s concerns. Women are very poorly represented in peace negotiations. In 2010 the UN Development Fund for Women (Unifem) noted that women make up less than ten per cent of negotiators and less than three per cent of the signatories to peace agreements. Not surprisingly, references to women in peace agreements are disproportionately low, according to the studies conducted on this subject. A study from the University of Ulster (2010), based on a screening of 585 peace agreements signed between 1990 and 2010, concluded that only 16 per cent of peace agreements contain references to women. Even when references to women are included, they tend to be rather weak in qualitative terms.

The right to participate is often the most commonly advocated by civil society organisations. The effectiveness of systematically including women’s civil society groups in decision-making in peace processes as a whole tends to be undervalued, which could be one of the explanations for women’s continued marginalisation in peace negotiations. This marginalisation is still evident even when the negotiations are supported, facilitated and mediated by international third parties representing governments and institutions with policies that are positive to democracy, gender equality and women’s rights. This manual attempts to address this weakness by presenting concrete tools for third parties who are serious about including women’s organisations in peace processes.
Definitions

- The term *peace negotiations* in this manual denotes the meetings and consultations, often with international supervision and support, which at some point lead to a peace agreement.

- A *peace process* includes the complex process from ceasefire agreements through peace negotiations to agreements, security measures, reconstruction, donor conferences, democratic governance and conflict prevention.

- *Participation* refers in this manual not only to numerical representation in negotiations, but also to the quality, conditions and influence of such presence. An inclusive peace process that takes into account the security of both men and women will only come about if there is a qualitative shift to modify the power dynamics in peace negotiation and in the peace process as a whole. Systematic and adequate resources and active measures need to be put in place to facilitate women’s influence on the content of and the decisions made in those processes.

- *Gender* here refers to the socially constructed roles, behaviour, activities and attributes that a particular society considers appropriate for men and women.

- Men and women take on different roles and responsibilities and therefore have different interests and needs. Gender relations are concerned with the distribution of power between the sexes. They create and reproduce systemic differences in the position of men and women in a given society. Gender systems are institutionalised through education, political and economic systems, legislation, culture and traditions. In utilising a gender approach the focus is not on individual men and women, but on the system that determines gender roles and responsibilities, access to and control of resources, and participation in decision-making.

  Appropriate gender training may raise awareness of these aspects in a given context and reduce the gender bias that informs the actions of individuals and institutions, which may bring about personal or organisational change in support of gender equality.

- *Women’s organisations* here refers to organised women’s groups in civil society working for peace and security, women’s rights and social justice in conflict regions.

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Introduction

Why should we care?
The most obvious motivation for supporting women’s participation in peace processes is the fact that UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security refers specifically to it. What is the global situation today more than a decade after the adoption of this Resolution? Women are still poorly represented in formal decision-making positions in most conflict regions despite the involvement of organised women in peacebuilding initiatives at grassroots level. These vitally important initiatives are rarely recognised when third parties analyse conflict issues, set the agenda for and advise in peace and rebuilding negotiations where important decisions are made for the future of societies following armed conflict or civil unrest. Consequently, there are considerable untapped resources among women peace activists in civil society in conflict regions.

Investing in women’s contribution to peace negotiations is of twofold value:

- a democratically sensitive step towards realising women’s rights and influence in the agreements for rebuilding a society ravaged by armed conflict.

- a strategically smart investment for the prevention of further violence and for the sustainability of the peace agreement reached. Local civil society women, as mentioned, are often the main civil society actors carrying out peacebuilding work. If the concerns of local women’s groups are included from the outset in peace negotiations, their commitment to engage in the implementation and monitoring of peace agreements on the ground is likely to be greater. Such an investment will benefit local ownership and the sustainability of the peace process as a whole.

In brief, adequately resourced and targeted investments in women’s meaningful participation in peace negotiations would create more solid foundations for rebuilding and reconciliation processes and could potentially diminish the costs of war and armed conflict. Thus, the question of why women should be included should be reversed: Can we afford not to have women systematically involved in peace negotiations?

Target group
This manual is intended primarily for third parties, such as decision-makers on funding for peace processes, diplomatic delegations, mediators and other intermediaries looking for practical guidance on the inclusion of civil society women in peace processes and peace negotiations.

The recommendations apply to both national and international stakeholders in peace processes.

The manual may also be used as a tool for women’s organisations advocating women’s participation in peace processes.
This section outlines key actions in creating enabling factors for realising civil society women’s participation in peace processes. The main point is that actions aimed at creating an enabling environment are a prerequisite for the success of peace negotiations. By success we mean peace negotiations where women peace activists have a say in setting the agenda and when peace agreements include substantial provisions for gender equality. Such enabling initiatives must be taken long before formal peace negotiations are convened, and continue even after a peace agreement is reached.

Meaningful, substantial and effective participation can only come about provided:

- The organisations and individuals have access to thorough and timely information on the process and the issues at stake as well as access to the decision-makers involved.

- The organisations and individuals have the required capacity and logistical coordinated support.

In other words, it is not about women activists being photographed symbolically next to a male mediator or women sitting at the negotiating table without the right to be heard, but about enabling the constructive forces for peace in a society ravaged by armed conflict to contribute to the peace process without discrimination. The fact that women make up at least half of the population in most countries should be sufficient reason to correct the imbalances currently seen in men’s and women’s participation in peace negotiations.

**An inclusive peace will simply not be realised without women’s presence and perspective at the peace table.**
Policy instruments are intended as guidelines for action and are only meaningful if they are applied and adapted to concrete situations, and include accountability mechanisms.

For anyone adopting an inclusive approach to working on peace and security, the UN Security Council Resolutions on Women, Peace and Security form the key policy documents at global level. Resolution 1325 can be seen as the basis of all the other interrelated resolutions. It explicitly refers to the adoption of a gender perspective in peace negotiations and peace agreements, including measures that support local women’s peace initiatives and that involve women in all the implementation mechanisms of peace agreements (Article 8).

Security Council Resolutions 1820, 1888 and 1960 address sexualised violence in armed conflict, the need for protection and how to prosecute and put pressure on perpetrators, while Resolution 1889 sets out concrete actions to bring about women’s participation in post-conflict processes.

On the 10th anniversary in 2010, a number of UN agencies committed to develop a strategic coordination framework with an assignment of responsibilities to pave the way for the implementation of UNSCR 1325 in the next decade.

The Beijing Platform for Action of 1995 (Strategic Objective E.1) with its follow-up mechanisms and the legally binding Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) both stress women’s participation in peace processes from a human rights perspective.
At regional level

While there has been no consistent regional initiative in Africa, the African Union has taken action to mainstream gender in all its programmes. At the subregional level in Africa, some steps have been taken more informally, such as the Dakar Declaration and Ecowas Plan of Action for West Africa of September 2010. The Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa is a legally binding document that specifically includes women’s right to participate in Articles 9 (Right to Participation in the Political and Decision-Making Process) and 10 (Right to Peace).

In Asia, there are still no specific policy initiatives on Women, Peace and Security. This absence should not be taken as a lack of civil society initiatives or lack of gender-related peace and security threats in a region that is far from spared from armed conflicts and gender-related security threats.

At EU level, the most important policy document on Women, Peace and Security is the EU Comprehensive Approach for the Implementation of UN Security Council Resolutions 1325 and 1820 on Women, Peace and Security of 2008, which is intended to coordinate the actions of the European institutions and the Member States, concretised through a set of indicators adopted in 2010.

In Latin America, there is no comprehensive regional initiative relating specifically to UNSCR 1325, but the Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment and Eradication of Violence against Women (Convention of Belem Do Para) is the most important legally binding document with regard to combating violence against women.

At national level

An increasing number of countries are developing National Action Plans as a means of strengthening implementation and follow-up. To date, National Action Plans have mostly been developed in European countries and the design and content of national strategies have varied considerably. To ensure National Action Plans are effective national instruments for implementation, a Nordic network of NGOs, including Kvinna till Kvinna, has proposed five minimum standards.

- Time-limited, specified goals and priority actions
- Assignment of accountability between ministries and authorities for the specified actions
- An allocated budget
- A result-oriented and transparent reporting and monitoring mechanism, including a system for tracking funds allocated to the national action plan
- The extent to which civil society organisations, including women’s organisations, have been actively engaged throughout the development, implementation, monitoring and review of the NAP.

In order to make these policy instruments effective on global, regional and national levels, their content and scope need to be more widely known among women’s organisations, while government and international organisations’ representatives working on peace and security issues need to make proper use of the relevant instruments in the field.
Map women’s groups in the conflict region

Map women representatives of civil society groups in the conflict region at an early stage in the conflict and identify the contributions they could make to peace negotiations on the basis of their experience-based knowledge and skills. Mapping is an important preparatory step in preventing arbitrary civil society representation or limited inclusion of only warring factions when peace talks begin. It also provides an overview of the concerns and needs for strategic capacity-building among civil society groups in a conflict region.

Consult with international women’s organisations with long experience of supporting and cooperating with local women’s groups in conflict regions. This will save time and resources and reduce the risk of missing out on important women’s groups working for peace.

Invest in networking and meeting spaces

Support networking and collective mobilisation among women’s organisations in conflict regions for the formulation and outreach of concrete peace proposals. Mobilisation for peace during armed conflict requires financial and security support for convening meetings and for travel, as well as ICT equipment. Such support may facilitate women’s organisations in their formulation of a joint peace agenda and has thus the potential for greater influence on substance once formal peace negotiations begin.

Open up and sustain channels of communication between women’s organisations on the ground and key international and national representatives at an early stage, in order to facilitate knowledge-sharing, trust-building and agenda-setting with a view to upcoming peace negotiations.

Cooperate with international women’s organisations acting as intermediaries between local civil society groups and international stakeholders and donors. International women’s groups with long experience of supporting local women’s groups in conflict regions have important experience-based knowledge of what does and does not work. Supporting such intermediaries saves a large amount of time and resources compared to starting from scratch.
“Support networking and mobilisation among women’s organisations in conflict regions.”
Creating an Enabling Environment

Build capacity for mobilisation and skills development

In order to make timely and substantial contributions on a relatively equal basis with other actors involved in peace negotiation processes, women’s peace organisations in conflict regions will benefit from easy access to skills development in peace negotiation and conflict resolution tools as well as advocacy and outreach. Inversely, mediators will benefit from receiving pre-assignment training with qualified gender expertise, and briefings on gender-related security issues as well as on the existing women’s groups in the area of assignment.

a – for women’s organisations

- Invest in networking opportunities between women’s organisations in conflict regions and across conventional conflict boundaries where they define their own agenda to strengthen the capacity of women’s organisations for mobilising broadly on peace initiatives. Support the development of platforms with strong coordination in order to develop capacity and effective mobilisation.

- Support links between these grassroots actors, medium-sized women’s peace organisations and women’s representatives in government, parliament and other national decision-making institutions, where the presence of women tends to be disproportionately low. Such links create an opportunity for mutual support and greater visibility, and political action on women’s security concerns.

- Provide training in negotiating skills and advocacy tools for women peace activists in conflict regions.

The dynamics of peace negotiations and women peace activists themselves will benefit from specific training in advocacy, lobbying, conflict resolution tools, conflict analysis, messaging and peace process terminology.

b – for mediators and their teams

- Set up and maintain a pool of qualified mediation and gender expertise at UN and regional organisation level to act as advisers and trainers for mediators, facilitators and women’s organisations in peace talks as required.

- Provide qualified gender-sensitive training and pre-assignment briefings to male and female mediators, including the use of gender-sensitive language, knowledge of existing women’s groups in the conflict territory and of gender-related security issues.

Establish quality standards on gender, peace and security training

Maintain a minimum standard of certification for trainers on gender, peace and security training in order to ensure quality of learning among practitioners.
“External donors can act as powerful catalysts if they know how to listen carefully and adapt to the conditions and absorption capacity of local women’s organisations.”

Set up flexible and sustained funding

Targeted support measures to strengthen networking and advocacy skills are instrumental in bringing about qualitative inclusion of women’s groups in peace negotiations. However, if women’s peace organisations are to contribute effectively to peace processes, a very simple, yet essential and largely unrecognised prerequisite is providing sustained core funding to civil society women’s peace work. Sustained core funding paves the way for a more robust and vibrant civil society, with organisations that remain in place even after funding is partially or completely withdrawn or modified in a more stable post-conflict period. External donors can act as a powerful catalyst if they know how to listen carefully and adapt to the conditions and absorption capacity of local women’s organisations. Women’s organisations are generally used to working very cost-effectively, but often suffer from having to invest considerable time and effort in continually applying for new short-term funding. Flexible funding, including the possibility of funding for several consecutive years, will make a far greater difference to most women’s organisations than one-off, large short-term grants.

By committing to multi-year funding adapted to the way in which women’s organisations in conflict regions work, donors will probably benefit themselves and women’s organisations in terms of improving the chances of making a real long-term impact on the ground and promoting peace built on a democratic process.
Support monitoring, research and knowledge-sharing

Participation and mobilisation in peace initiatives by women’s organisations are at the very core of the potential for change. Many good examples that could be a source of learning for women’s inclusion in peace processes are still not being documented. Research and cross-regional knowledge-sharing on the security threats faced by women in armed conflicts are indeed needed. Systematic documentation of best practice and lessons learnt from civil society women’s participation in peace processes would improve the financial, diplomatic and political response.

- Donors and the UN would help achieve more inclusive peace processes by supporting systematic documentation and analysis of best practice in civil society contributions to peace and security, including those of women’s organisations.
- Establish mechanisms for monitoring the impact of peace agreements in connection with the design of peace negotiations with respect to gender.
- Review progress on the implementation of signed peace agreements on a regular basis and share it widely with decision-makers and the civil society concerned.
This section presents targeted actions to bring about civil society women’s participation in peace negotiations and to integrate gender provisions in peace agreements. Including civil society in peace negotiations can be key to increasing women’s influence in the peace process and throughout the ongoing rebuilding of a society damaged by armed conflict. A parallel consultation process should be set up with adequate resources and channels of communication between negotiations and consultations, and mediation teams should include qualified gender experts. Such a combined approach increases the chances of the inclusion of references to gender-related needs and gender-sensitive measures in the final peace agreement.

Earmark financial support for women’s participation and gender expertise
Earmark a significant percentage, at least 30 per cent, of financial support for peace talks for women’s participation and the appointment of gender expertise. If the aim is to include at least 30 per cent of either sex, the financial support for peace talks should be proportionally adjusted and earmarked for boosting such measures. Peace talks here also include constitution-making and other rebuilding negotiations. As previously mentioned, civil society women in conflict regions are a largely untapped source of constructive contributions to peace talks and their participation has to be financed.

Hands-on financial support measures for travel, accommodation, childcare, monitoring, capacity-building and physical protection are needed to enable women in civil society to participate in practice. Such expenses have to be taken into account in every serious attempt to include women in peace talks.

Introduce gender quotas for participation in negotiations
The UN and Member States supporting a specific peace process could make use of their funding leverage and diplomatic support for peace negotiations to require gender quotas in peace negotiations, including constitutional and legislative reform. A minimum 30 percent of either sex is necessary for significant influence on decision-making as a group, as suggested by academic research.

A less punitive measure, if necessary, would be to provide extra seats for all negotiating parties provided these are allocated to women and these women representatives are treated on an equal footing with men in the delegations in terms of opportunity to speak and information-sharing.
Engendering mediation

Ensure that the mediation process is informed by the gender dimensions of the conflict and ensure that the talks are facilitated and mediated through the lens of a pertinent gender equality strategy with clear goals and targets, including the priorities of women peace and rights activists.

- Mandates to mediators and negotiation experts should include gender issues for the agenda-setting and mandatory set-up of a parallel consultation process with women’s civil society groups that are contributing constructive suggestions for peace and human security. Mandates should also include the appointment of intermediaries to act as communication channels between parallel civil society consultations and formal peace negotiations.

- As a rule, include a team or at least one qualified gender expert of either sex in any delegation facilitating peace talks, in order to ensure the integration of substantial gender-related provisions in the peace negotiation agreements and prepare the ground for gender-balanced representation in peace talks.

- Women and gender experts need to be involved in every relevant negotiation and drafting of peace agreements, including security sector reform; disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration; transitional justice and reparations; socio-economic recovery; wealth-sharing agreements including property rights; and any constitution-building processes established.

- Ensure that gender experts are involved in sub-agreement processes that follow on from the principal peace agreement since these are important for actual implementation of the agreement. Particular emphasis should be given to constitution-making processes where gender quotas and gender equality provisions need to be included.

Establish eligibility criteria for inclusion in peace negotiations

Establish eligibility criteria to ensure that civil society representation in peace and reconstruction negotiations does not just become a symbolic representational concern. A case study assessment by the International Civil Society Action Network and the MIT Center for International Studies, What the Women Say (2010), postulates criteria such as that members of civil society, that is, not only women’s groups, can show:

- that they work across conflict boundaries to promote non-violence, peace, human rights and reconciliation;

- that they offer constructive gender-sensitive solutions to root causes of conflicts;

- that they represent the views and concerns of a wider constituency;

- that they are willing to engage in dialogue with all parties to the conflict without discrimination;

- that they are willing to support monitoring and implementation of peace agreements by outreach to communities.
“Appoint intermediaries who are trusted by the civil society community and who also receive a relatively high level of recognition among the negotiating parties.”
Set up a Track Two consultative process with women’s civil society groups
Identify, support and include women actors in civil society who have strong grassroots links and constructively advocate peaceful solutions.

Establish consultation with women’s civil society groups in the conflict area as standard practice in mediation, supported by the UN and regional organisations involved in peace negotiations. Such consultation should be initiated well before substantial negotiations begin, to ensure well-prepared input on the conflict and security issues at stake by women’s civil society groups.

The role of trusted intermediaries
Provide women civil society contributors with an open direct channel to the formal peace talks with input for consideration by the parties. They should in return receive timely updates on relevant issues and proposed solutions as the peace talks proceed. To structure such exchange of information, appoint intermediaries who also receive a relatively high level of recognition among the negotiating parties.

Adapt the timeframe
Parallel consultations connected through direct channels with the formal negotiations will probably require more time for exchanging information and suggestions than a purely isolated track one process would entail. The long-term gain is a more robust and comprehensive peace agreement supported by broad layers of civil society.
A wide range of studies has served as reference material. For the sake of brevity and to provide an overview, a selection of references of specific relevance to women’s participation in peace processes has been listed here.

Publications


A summary of the above article can be found under the heading UN Security Council 1325 and Peace Negotiations and Agreements, by Christine Bell & Catherine O’Rourke, March 2011: http://www.hdcentre.org/publications


Organisations

UN:
✱ The UN Security Council, central political organ with primary responsibility, under the UN Charter, for maintaining international peace and security: http://www.un.org/Docs/sc/
✱ The UN Women is the UN organisation dedicated to gender equality and the empowerment of women, and the key coordinating agency for UN action on UNSCR 1325: http://www.unwomen.org/
✱ The UN Peacebuilding Commission: http://www.un.org/peace/peacebuilding/
✱ The UN Department of Political Affairs, Mediation Support Unit: http://www.un.org/wcm/content/site/undpa/mediation_support

Regional:
✱ ECOWAS: http://www.ecowas.int/
✱ The African Union: http://www.au.int/
✱ The European Union: http://europa.eu/
✱ The Organisation of American States: http://www.oas.org/

International NGOs:
✱ DCAF: http://www.dcaf.ch/
✱ International Alert: http://www.international-alert.org/
✱ The Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue: http://www.hdcentre.org/
Find Out More

✱ The Institute for Inclusive Security, Hunt Alternatives Fund, which lists relevant publications and hosts an on-line directory of women experts by theme and geographic location: http://www.huntalternatives.org/pages/7_the_initiative_for_inclusive_security.cfm

Other websites
✱ Peace Women portal: www.peacewomen.org

Guiding policy and legal documents on UNSCR 1325 implementation
Global level
✱ The UN Secretary-General report on the implementation of Resolution 1325 over the last ten years and a set of revised indicators for tracking implementation of 1325 at the global level, 28 September 2010, ref. S/2010/498: http://www.un.org/Docs/sc/sgrep10.htm
✱ The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, including a list of State Parties: http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/cedaw.htm
✱ The Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, (the individual complaint mechanism), including a list of State Parties: http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/cedaw-one.htm

Regional level
Africa
✱ List of State Parties that have ratified the above Protocol: http://www.africa-union.org/root/au/Documents/Treaties/List/Protocol%20on%20the%20Rights%20of%20Women.pdf

The EU
- Indicators for the (above listed) EU Comprehensive Approach on UNSCR 1325, 11948/10: http://www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/hr/news272.pdf

The Americas

National level
“Only if women play a full and equal part can we build the foundations for enduring peace, development, good governance, human rights and justice.”

Former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan